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ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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PILES OF PROFITS FOR PARASITES—WHY?

By C. B. WARWICK.

Look at these figures, Henry, please, and memorise them: 1,416,665 and 706,000. They represent murders and profit; aye, Murders *for* Profits! The first is in Pounds, the second in Proletarians. Vision the late "great" War. The Explosives Trades Ltd., a combine-octopus controlling Nobel's Explosives' Company, Kynochs, the Birmingham Metal and Munitions Co., the British South African Explosives' Co., and many other firms of their ilk, have just issued a prospectus, and the first figure given represents their profits for *last year only*. Probably they were made out of the murdering campaigns against Russian Communists, or out of death-dealing presents for the Black and Tans! The second figure represents Britain's death-roll in the "great" War for capitalist expansion and exploitation. We see closer connection when we glimpse o'er the profit-pyramid piled up by another combine-octopus known as the Sir Armstrong-Whitworth Company, whose report for the four years, 1916—19, inclusive, shows a nett profit, "after making provision for taxation, depreciation, and expenditure," of £4,053,605. How many good, wholesome, proletarian meals would that lump sum buy, Henry? Were *you* in the Great War? You came out safe, maybe. Do the dead know what the Bosses made out of them? Do they know what they are making out of them *now*? Look at the pomp displayed on the Eleventh! Two minutes of Silence, when every capitalist stopped profiteering (I don't think)! Starvation doles for the workless living—God s'truth! Living!!! Ceremonial silence for the dead. Dope! Dope! Dope!

The Miners' Two Bob.

'Twas terrible for the miners to ask for another two bob on the ton, and immoral for them to try and get it by refusing to dig coal until their bosses budged. But no one says anything about the immorality of profits, or the immorality of not providing sufficient protection to the life and limb of the workers in the mines. Well, 1,118 miners lost their lives in the mines of Britain last year, and they and their mates made an output of 239,606,939 tons of coal (to say nothing about iron and other minerals) for the community, and a hell of a lot of profits for their bosses. Let us have a look at the figures, showing the nett profits of just a few mining firms, coal and iron. The Ebbw Vale Steel, Iron, and Coal Co. pulled off £1,122,600 last year; they are trying to extend their influence this year. Capitalism is expansive, its maw is insatiable. Another South Wales Coal Company, Lambert Bros., made £334,100. The Sheepbridge Coal and Iron Co. raked in £156,602 last year, and another little lump, a matter of £184,039, this year. Broomhill Collieries only managed £93,343! A few more: The Coltness Iron Co., Glasgow, made £488,556 during the past three years; South Durham Steel and Iron Co. pulled off £308,710 only this year; whilst the Falkirk Iron Co. of Scotland made £129,000 last year. And don't forget that iron and coal are cousins as far as mining is concerned.

To proceed. I want to get in a word of encouragement to your sister, Henry Dubb. Now, Nellie, you and your fellow shop-assistants are applying (you ought to *demand*, and, what's more, prepare to run the shops yourselves) for an increase in wages from certain West End stores. You are not asking for much, but your bosses are humming and ha-ing about the matter. But, go ahead, and use direct action. Let me whisper something in your ear: One firm, the mighty Selfridges, has made £1,179,204 nett profit during the last four years (372,479 last year alone). Need one say more?

The "Produce More" Stunt.

Some workers were diddled by the "produce more" stunt, urged by Capitalist and Labour fakirs alike. Now that we have the natural results before us—production being greater than demand—hence, the lock-out—sanity is returning to our ranks. The boot trade and the undergarment trade are cases in point. Mass production resulted in the bootmakers of Northampton being locked out by the bosses, who made money at the game, and can now well afford to sell the shoddy articles the workers were forced to produce, at prices much less than those demanded say, a year ago. "Produce more" made a glut; the workers went idle, they fell to studying the food-bill with greater worry; the bosses, to get rid of their stock, sell cheap (shoddy, though, is *never* cheap)! Greater production brings down prices, and, only incidentally, of course, increases the ranks of the unemployed, under this rotten system. The profit raked in by but one firm in the boot trade, Leanards, of Northampton, as an instance, last year was £88,213, with a surplus of assets over £401,899.

The members of the Amalgamated Tailors and Garment Workers' Union are also out for more cash. They want a 25 per cent. increase. They *might* get it. Let's hope they do. It should be interesting for them to know the profits of just a few big textile firms, so they may be sure they will not be asking too much, and so they will know their demands will not ruin Big Business. There's an octopus, with avaricious tentacles wriggling into all the corners of the clothing, and cloth-manufacturing industry, known as the Amalgamated Textiles. You may be demanding your increase from one of the tentacular group of firms—one never knows. Anyhow, the Amalgamated, in the last four years, has made £993,508 (nearly a million, in fact); J. Hepworth and Sons, cloth manufacturers, of Leeds, this year pulled off £73,083; Charles Semon and Co., of Bradford and Manchester, another textile firm, made £147,145 last year, and expect to clear this year another £200,000. 'Nuff sed!

Mills Working Short Time.

The mills are on short time; but the mill-owners (owners of the mills built and run by the workers for *their* owners), owners of mills and mill-workers—well, they are not on short profits, and the workers ought to know that, whether they're short of wages, as now, or not. To give a few instances: Messrs. Illingworth, of Whetley Mills, Bradford, and North Side Mills, Legrams, (who, by the way, have just joined up with the Amalgamated Textiles), made £923,431 during the last four years. The Leigh Mills Company profited last year to the tune of £73,397; Tootal-Broadhurst Mills, at Bolton, pinched £436,376 from its wage-slaves last year; and, knowest thou, O Jute Mill-Workers, of Dundee, the profits of thy bosses whilst thou are not on short time, after making them from out of your sweat and blood, your life, limb and brain? Well, your industry is run by a combine known as Jute Industries Ltd., which controls six Dundee companies. Their profits for the four years, 1916 to 1920, amount to over £4,706,101, with just over £1,497,557 netted this year alone—nearly one and a half million for one year's exploitation. Don't it make you feel just foolish for letting them take it? (Are you short of houses in Dundee?) It is complete robbery, of course, and quite legal, quite constitutional!

So the above are a few facts relative to *Capitalist Robbery*. It is no use gasping at them, merely wondering. It's the System, Henry, the System! And the Robbery will continue until the organised, class-conscious workers stump for the smashing of that system, and for the inauguration of Communism, where erstwhile Bosses will have equal chance with erstwhile Slaves to *work* for the benefit of *all*, not the few at the expense and poverty of the many, or the equal right to do the other thing, which doesn't mean to exploit anybody, or anything, of that sort. Let us search the Truth in to-day's Realities, and utilise our knowledge till all Slaves understand the Great Robbery, and, understanding, overthrow the Robber Dynasty of Capitalism, so the Red Dawn of Slaveless Communism may bring health and happiness to a Classless Humanity—a Humanity devoid of Parasites and Bosses.

S. O. S.

Comrades, we told you the *Workers' Dreadnought* is in danger.

We meant it.

The *Dreadnought* is in danger.

But its readers and the members of the Communist Party can make its position perfectly secure if they have the will to do so.

If everyone of you gave or collected £1 to the *Dreadnought* Fund, the paper would not only be safe, but would be able greatly to extend its work.

Therefore it is your duty to send £1 to the Business Manager, *Workers' Dreadnought* Office, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

If everyone who buys the *Dreadnought* bought twice as many copies, the *Dreadnought* would be out of danger, and its work would be greatly extended.

Therefore double your orders for *Dreadnoughts*.

If every member of the Communist Party would sell half a quire a week more *Dreadnoughts* than at present, the *Dreadnought* would be safe.

Therefore, Party members, increase your orders by a quire a week, in order that your paper may become a booming success.

SIX MONTHS FOR MALONE.

Six months' imprisonment, half a year of living death, Comrades, seems now to be the stock sentence for Communists. Harold Burgess, Sylvia Pankhurst, our Finnish comrade, and now Comrade Malone have all been awarded the same penalty. Comrade Malone, like Sylvia Pankhurst, is appealing against the sentence, so we are debarred from commenting upon it at present. But we appeal to all comrades who are free to work for the movement to do so with redoubled vigour. Whoever applauds the comrades who go to gaol for the cause, must ask himself and herself: "What am I doing for the Movement? Am I giving my energy and my means to the movement? Do I realise that we are living in the time of the Revolution, that Communism is coming in our time, and that, as a Communist, it is my duty to give myself and all I have to speed the day?"

Six months' imprisonment is a heavy penalty, Comrades, for those whose burning desire is for activity in the service of the Cause; but those who face that sentence know that this imprisonment may be followed by many another; they know that they may have to spend years, perhaps many years, within the narrow precincts of a little cell. The only consolation for the pioneers who go to prison is the thought that their imprisonment may stimulate the growth of the movement, and so the loss of the work they might have done for it outside may be counter-balanced.

The Communist movement is still weak; and too many Communists who realise that, instead of understanding that there is therefore the more need for effort by Communists, go running off after every palliative red herring that is dragged across the trail, because they may possibly help to secure the accomplishment of some side issue without very much effort.

Some of our professedly revolutionary friends chide us for working for Communism, telling us to leave that alone and run after the Labour red herring, by working to get Labour candidates, with all sorts of anti-Communist views, on to local bodies or into Parliament.

Others tell us to concentrate the work, but not preaching Communism there. Oh, no, no! They ask us to invite the workers to agitate for payment in the masters' time, and for such other little ameliorations of their lot.

Such people have not the courage to treat the workers as adults; they are afraid to tell them the truth; they urge that that is not the way to secure a large following immediately.

The Communist answer, of course, is that we do not desire a large following of ignorant people who are not prepared to accept Communism, and who follow us, not for Communism, but in search of some fugitive palliative reform.

We desire to create a movement of determined and convinced Communists, and we are prepared for the sake of the great object to remain unpopular, persecuted and despised, as long as may be necessary.

But not a day longer, Comrades, must we miss our opportunities by sloth or cowardice.

We must fight without fear or hesitation for the only cause that matters, under the only flag that matters, and put palliatives aside.

We must make our appeal to the masses: we must be active in every strike, every agitation against high rents and lack of houses, dear food, unemployment and other evils; but although our battle-cry may at first seem remote and unpractical, although we may lose the superficial popularity and success that we might achieve by working for palliatives, we must declare in every case that Communism is the only cure, and we must call on the workers to make active preparations for it.

At the elections and by-elections, instead of attempting to gull the workers by the story that the return of Charlie Duncan, James Winston, or even ex-Colonel Malone, will ameliorate their conditions; we must tell the workers that the capitalist system and all its administrative bodies are doomed, and that what they must place their faith in is the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of Communism and the Soviets.

Some of our Comrades are going to prison for the Movement.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO TO REPAIR THE LOSS?

GEORGE BARNES AND LABOUR.

George Barnes, the renegade Labour M.P., speaking at the League of Nations Assembly, at Geneva, where he sits as Government representative, said that the Labour chapter in the Peace Treaty was one of the most important, because there must be "industrial peace." He referred to what he called "the somewhat delicate question" of admitting Germany and her Allies to the League, and said that Labour desires Germany admitted as quickly as possible.

It should be interesting to know whether Barnes has now any connection with the Labour Party. What are his relations with the Executive?

URGENT QUESTIONS.

By J. T. MURPHY.

(Continued from last week).

The Struggle Must Be Extended.

Immediately such crises arrive at this stage of their development, not only is there manifest the need for the extension of the struggle to other bodies of workers, but we also see the political parties brought inevitably into the arena of the struggle. Witness the activities of the Labour Party in practically all recent conflicts.

Conversely with these developments, we are forced to recognise that the crisis developing directly out of political issues, necessitate the surging through the industrial organisations from the political parties of the agitation which will develop action. Witness the crisis on foreign policy of recent date.

The enumeration of these facts is sufficient to indicate the main lines the Communist Party must pursue in its struggle for the conquest of power, and all these are strengthened by a recognition of the nature of the work to be carried through after the conquest of power. Then comes the great economic struggle, in which the whole industrial apparatus of the working class plays an all important part. Success or failure depends upon its operation in the interests of Communism. Upon this matter let there be no illusions.

Basic Industries.

Basic industries are therefore of extreme importance both before and after the revolution. In the first instance as specially organised regions from which spring impulses to mass-action on a large scale, which involve a challenge to the class apparatus of the State. In the latter, as prime industries upon which will largely depend the maintenance of what is won by the revolution. The problem connected with this task we will omit for the moment.

The immediate task of the Party is its struggle for the leadership of the exploited masses. Without that lealership is attained, no real proletarian conquest of the capitalist state can be accomplished. This task calls not simply for general agitation for Communism in the Unions, etc., but for a concerted plan of action. First we must adapt our Party to feel the extent and strength of the impulses which spring from the economic struggle, to develop, to extend, to strengthen and direct them. Secondly, to apply our revolutionary principles to immediate situations and prepare for the main bodies of industrial workers' revolutionary programmes for immediate action. Thirdly, we must facilitate the election of specially equipped Communists to the Central Committees of the Party, the choice of and agitation for Communist candidates for positions of responsibility and leadership in the proletarian organisations, to initiate and assist movements which battle against all forms of reaction in the Labour organisations.

For the successful application of such a policy, experience thus thrusts upon us the need for the shaping of the Party, with a deeper regard for industry than hitherto. Not that the Party shall become an industrial organisation. That would be preposterous, but that it shall group its branches in regional or district councils the boundary limitations of which shall be determined by the geographical distribution of the principal industries. It will thus embrace the regions of discontent in a manner that facillitates the correct estimation and understanding of any developing movement, the assimilation of experts in the Party, the conduct of special campaigns of education and agitation according to the needs of the various sections of workers, the conquest of the industrial organisations for Communism, the development of a class contact with the everyday struggle of the masses and the most effective leadership of the Party.

The district councils should therefore be formed by district conferences of delegates drawn from the Party branches in the towns and villages in a given area. The area should be determined after a close study of an economic map of Britain, and the representation at the conferences and the size of the Councils arranged according to the membership of the Party in the areas covered by each conferences. The Councils and their Executive Committee are, of course, higher organs of the Party than the Branches, but subordinate to the Central Executive Committe of the Party. The District organs of the Party should be responsible to the District Conferences and the Executive Committee of the Party, for all their activities. Following the same line of procedure as indicated in the discussion of the town and city organisation, the District Council should be departmentalised for special functions, and its Executive Committee consist of the Chairman of the Departmental Committees.

IV.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Supreme Organ of the Party must be the National Congress of delegates from the Branches of the Party, which should be convened not less than twice a year. But between the Congresses, all the power of the Congresses must be vested in the Excutive Committee of the Party, which shall express and carry through the decisions of the Congresses. On this question there should be no antiquated limitations of the referendum, etc. The General Staff of an army cannot take a ballot vote of the army before each battle to see if the rank and file are willing to fight. We must elect the best men and women that we have, vest them with the power of the National Congress, expect prompt, decisive action in hours of crisis, and give them the utmost confidence and loyal obedience to the decisions. We should test our organisations and our leaders, not by the amount of red tape we can evolve for the strangling of action, but by the promtitude in action and the correctness of the decisions that are made. The more intense the struggle becomes, the more will swift decision and the quick response of the whole Party become of paramount importance; and these things cannot be attained if the Party is draped in formal procedure.

A Dangerous Policy?

Dangerous, you say? Yes, it is dangerous, no one denies it; but we have not joined the Communist Movement expecting it to be a P.S.A. picnic. We have joined it to wage war, and war is always a dangerous calling, for the supreme sacrifice of life itself. Because it is so serious a business, it may be asserted, we ought not to invest any Committee with so much power. Very well, I reply, behind such an objection lies a complexity of feelings and ideas, self-preservation, formalism, lack of confidence in the leaders of the Party, and a scepticism of the integrity and sincerity of the Party membership. We have to chose between confidence in each other, confidence in the leaders we choose, an organisation quick in decision and action, and the creation of an organisation full of procedure as a corrective to the leaders and each other, cumbersome and slow to decide and act, composed of snifflers for the weaknesses of each other.

A Critical Period.

With this latter kind of movement, we have had more than enough. And ere we in the British Movement are launched into the most critical, trying, and dangerous period of our history, I urge a cleansing of the atmosphere of distrust and pettiness which has saturated the Movement for more than a year. It is fatal to our cause, counter revolutionary in its effect, if not in its origin. It is an impossibility to build a revolutionary party of doubting Thomas's. Every person has some positive qualities we must use, even while the weaknesses must not be allowed to jeopardise the Movement. But the emphasis must be on the strength people can contribute. Every ounce of positive worth we find in the membership of the Party, must be mobilised, and that cannot be done so long as the Recksniffian virtue of prying and sniffling into motives of everyone who assumes office holds sway in the Movement. Courage, daring, honesty of purpose, loyalty to the revolutionary principles of Communism, are as essential to the critic as to those who are criticised. Not one who has at all realised the seriousness of task we have to carry through, can help feeling how much is going to depend upon the confidence we have in each other. The time may not be far off ere the British Communists may be subjected to the same treatment as the American Communists, and find the whole organisation thrust into underground activity, and even National Congresses an impossibility, and even the elective method of creating officials of the Party be out of the question. Shall the Party cease to exist then, because a certain formal procedure cannot be adopted? Certainly not. We must have confidence in ourselves, and in each other and organise for action, not for the sake of organisation

Twice a Year Conferences.

Then facing the issue squarely, we should elect the Central Executive of the Party, so long as National Conferences can be held at the National Congress, which should be convened twice a year. The referendum as a mode of election should be cut out. It is an antiquated method which does not produce the results we want. To think that by referendum we get the real will and selection of the membership will not stand examination. When a referendum is taken for the election of officials, the membership votes because it is called upon to vote with absolutely no knowledge of the majority of the names on the list, or of the abilities of the people whose names they do not know.

The Congress, on the contrary, is composed in the first place of those whom the membership do know, and in whom they have confidence. Then the Congress delegates have the opportunity of seeing the accredited representatives of the Party in action, to meet them personally and take the measure of the material from which the best officers can be selected. We want to be able to select for office, the men and women who are experts in the particular tasks they are called upon to perform. Whilst this mode of election has its defects, it provides the most ready practical means of getting the result desired. The offices should be open for election at each Congress. Particularly should this be insisted upon while the Party is assimilating its initial membership.

The structure of the Executive Committee, which should consist of any fifteen members, should be similar in form to that of the Local and District Committees. At least five departments are necessary for the effective transaction of the business of the Party, *viz.*: Propaganda and Publications Department, Labour Department dealing specially with the industrial labour movements, Department for the conducting of work among the women and the youth, Department for the organisation of the Party, and a Department for matter dealing with the Inter affairs. I would suggest that three Executive members be assigned to each Department as a controlling Sub-Committee, and the Chairmen of Sub-Committees become the Sub-Bureau of the Executive Committee, with all the power of the full Committee, between the full meetings of the Executive. With such a subdivision of labour and centralisation of authority, provision is made for specialisation and rapidity of action.

Control by the Rank and File.

The control of the rank and file in such an organisation should be maintained by the frequence of Local and National Conferences, so long as they can be held. The Local Conferences in the towns and cities should be at least once a month; the District Conferences once in two or three months; the National Conference once in six months. With such frequent meetings and opportunities for recall, a far more effective method of keeping the organisation at its highest pitch of efficiency is obtained than by the old methods of referendum, etc.

Nor must it be forgotten that the problems before us are not those of thrashing out basic principles and policy. These have already been thrashed out and agreed upon. The theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International contain these, and the Party as a section of the Communist International is bound by the conclusions contained therein. Our task is their application. It is a mighty task demanding all the energy, ability, courage and loyalty to the revolution that we can give, and a Party strongly centralised and well-directed. Such a Party, and how to shape it, I have attempted to describe.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S NOTES.

The Cardiff Conference.

The Theses presented to the second World Congress of the Communist International, reaches to a thick book of one hundred and twenty pages. The Theses, Statutes, and Conditions of the Third Communist International, as adopted by that congress, reaches out to a similar book of eighty-one pages. Each party which is affiliated to the Communist International, has to abide by every Thesis, Statute, Resolution, and Condition adopted and passed by the Congress. So far, at the Gorton Conference, our Party passed and agreed to conditions numbered one to sixteen—something less than five pages of this printed book, so that seventy-six pages still remain to be dealt with. It is a stupendous task for any party to deal with. Especially is it difficult when branches are unable to get copies of the theses and statutes adopted so as to mandate their delegates. Even of the book of theses and statutes themselves it is most difficult to make extracts of what is important, because the whole hangs together in such a way that it would be unfair to the Communist International to extract one small portion away from its context and because we do not agree with that small portion, reject the whole without having duly considered the whole as a whole.

It is however abundantly clear that the real task that lies before us at Cardiff is to decide whether or not we shall remain affiliated to the Communist International, or whether on the other hand we shall break away, call ourselves the "Independent Communists" or something like that, and remain untrammelled by Moscow discipline.

In order to remain affiliated, it is quite clear that we shall have to merge with all other parties, for the statutes make it quite clear that there can only be one Communist Party for each country. This means we shall have to affiliate on the basis of the various theses and statutes. This also means we have got to accept the thesis on "Revolutionary Parliamentarism," points one to twelve, which will no doubt be considered by us in detail at Cardiff. We shall also have to pass a statute which condemns anti-parliamentarism as a naïve and childish doctrine that cannot bear criticism.

Whether branches are prepared to mandate their delegates to do any such thing is very questionable.

Except for these two sections which take up about four pages of the eighty-one in the book, there is little or nothing our party is likely to find fault with. The whole of the seventy-seven other pages are of such a character that no revolutionary Communist could find serious fault with them. The question therefore resolves itself to

> "whether on account of the four pages dealing with revolutionary parliamentarsim and scorning our own anti-parliamentarism, we are going to reject the Communist International and remain outside it,"

or—

> "whether for the sake of world-wide revolutionary unity we are going to swallow the pill and give a nominal support to revolutionary parliamentarism."

The whole position is very difficult. How we can support something we deride and scoff at, is not easy to see. Then, again, it is by no means clear that, once inside a united party, we should have freedom of action to carry on our anti-parliamentary propaganda so as to alter the thesis at the next world congress, for condition 21 lays it down:

> "Those members of the Party who reject the conditions and the thesis of the Third International, are liable to be excluded from the Party. This applies principally to the delegates at the special Congresses of the Party."

It seems that if any Comrade speaks at a Party Congress against the thesis on "Revolutionary Parliamentarism," he risks immediate expulsion. The position is indeed difficult.

"KING COAL." By FRED TYLER.

Upton Sinclair, the American Socialist, has made many successes, and his recent book, "The Brass Check," is the work of a brave man, a champion of truth, amid a circle of commercial lies and cunning, in the land of "the almighty dollar."

Another wonderful book, worthy of every one's attention, is "King Coal," a novel rich with description of life in the mining areas of Northern America.

No one reading these pages can fail to realise with feelings of horror the fact, so clearly proven, that the miners of America are completely in the power of the great coal trusts, who ride without pity or humanity on the struggling mass of mining workers.

Here "King Coal" rules, no matter the dictums of governments. Each great fuel company has its "thugs" (armed men), who ferret out the Trade Unionists, beat and break them, and drive them from the camps. The law of the American Republic, with curious irony, allows the right of Trade Union organisation, the right of the miners to appoint a checkweighman at the expense of the workers, and, despite the law, the great combines repress with armed force every effort of Labour to use its legal rights.

Each miner is cheated in the daily contract, the actual product of the miner being falsified. Should they grumble, then they are watched by the company "spotters," who, in confidence, seek conversation with the grumbler on "union" matters.

Should a newcomer protest and demand the rights of the American laws, he is hurried by force out of the camp, down the line, and out of the area.

Should he seek assistance from judge and police at the nearest town, he is blandly informed that he must first apply to the legal authorities at the pit-mouth.

Should he go back, then he will be shot down without mercy by the company "gunmen."

Should he remain and demand action by a district chief of police, he is very curtly told that "no doubt good reasons exist for his removal; possibly he had been agitating."

Thus, while millions believe in truly democratic manner in the power of government, the trusts, the terrible mechanical commercial organisations, rule silently and brutally the unfortunate men and women in the company areas.

The victims of mine explosions or disasters are taken to the company hospitals, tended to by company doctors, robbed of all compensation by company lawyers. Should they die, the verdict of the coroner's jury—a company jury—is so arranged that the company is easily cleared of all liabilities to dependents.

In the ordinary course of the week, the men live in the company's dwelling houses, obtain food and clothing at the company's stores, and at the company's price. The mail is delivered through the company's post office, churches and mission halls are plentifully supplied by the company, and beer and spirit bars are open until late hours.

Labour is so engaged by the company that at least twenty nationalities can always be found in a mining camp. Each nationality, with its distant memory of a native land, looks with dignity and contempt on the "aliens" and other races. We have a curious passing of oaths and ridicule—here a full-blooded American cursing a Frenchman, there a German reviling an Italian. And so on down this quaint ladder of social respect, from Italian to Greek, black races to the lowest of all: a Jap.

"Divide and conquer" is the tactic of the coal ring, and the mass of all races and colour take up the cry within the very narrow circle of their miserable existence.

Upton Sinclair wraps these terrible facts in a love story.

A young man, the second son of a coal magnate, decides to go to a coalmine and see for himself. In order to avoid being recognised, he visits the mines of another firm, attired in the rough clothes of a workmen. His personal application for employment at the offices of the camp guards is received with suspicion, and, without further ado he is stripped of his belongings, robbed of his money, and flung out of the camp as a "union organiser." He learns, to his pains, that first "the ropes must be understood," and employment is more easily obtained at the "gin-shop" in the nearest town. This delightful method, so neatly copied by a employment agency in the Strand, was a written undertaking between worker and agent, to this effect: "A part of first six months' wages to be paid by firm to introducing agent."

Thus the miners are robbed of the fruits of their toil in all directions.

Eventually the youth succeeds in "getting in" and is engaged as "stable hand." He, fresh from the bustle and life of a western city, feels the monotony and vile filthiness of the miner's life.

Amongst his new friends are a Pole, a Socialist, a Union organiser working as a surface hand (quietly helping the cause of the people forward), Mary, (a wild Irish girl with red hair, a brave impulsive character), and numerous men and women of this awful hell.

Hal, the youth, is named "Joe Smith," and he, without much hesitation, keeps frequent company with Mary, who pours into his willing ears the story of the mining hell.

It is curious that while he has a girl in "high society," to whom he is engaged, he yields almost completely to Mary; but finally he tells her the truth.

She, a lonely girl, the admiration of the mining youths, feels that this new friendship cannot be broken off. She is heart-broken, and, in one wild, exciting moment, flings herself at his feet, offers to share his love with the other girl, because of her desire for him, although in her heart she hates, like every woman, "the other woman."

Hate his credit declines, but the incident affords much thought on the problems of sex-relation.

Later, after a fight, led by Hal, for the right of checkweighman, resulting in a failure, and the leaders' expulsion from the camp, there is a tremendous explosion, and men and women crowd, with terror, round the pit-mouth.

Soon the news spreads, sixty men and boys are down in the depths, the coal-seam is blazing, dense smoke filling the passages underneath, and threatening to suffocate all. Only one thing remains: the giant fan must again move, and pump air to the men below.

But it is discovered that the pumping of air will quicken the flames, save the men, but destroy the coal—the company's coal. The fan stops, the men are left to their doom, the company's coal is saved. And Press wires throughout America inform the world of the mine explosion, and "that all steps are being taken to avoid unnecessary loss of life."

The temper of the miners is tried, lightening meetings are held, and throughout the canyon one wild shout is raised: "Long live the United Mine-Workers of America. Down with 'King Coal.'"

A coal magnate arrives, sees the situation, orders the fan to work, the workers are satisfied, and revolution stopped.

We leave this spot—a black industrial page in the American conscience. We leave the miners there, divided by race and tongue, with race hatred always in the fore in normal times, yet strangely forgotten during times of common danger. We leave them writhing in the grasp of "King Coal"—the law of the fuel trusts rules all; and politicians, pressmen, church, and the legal profession bow to the dictates of the capitalist Cæsars, amongst whom we find the greatest of all "King Coal."

We who discuss tactics, and divide ourselves into tiny camps, with rigid programmes, must thank our lucky stars that, so far, we have not suffered the dreadful life of an American mine-worker. We must look out for the company "gunman," whether "Black and Tans" or special police, we must seek the "spotters," the men who spie on our movement as open friends.

Meanwhile our sympathy goes forth to that international mass of tormented souls, struggling in the grip of "King Coal," hopeful that out of their oppression will be born that spirit of "solidarity of necessity" spread all over the world; a spirit of determination to nurse their gloom no longer, and "up to do" fighting for industrial freedom, the sweeping and lightening understanding passing through countless human minds. "The solidarity of Labour is the hope of the world"—and with this firm belief they will step forward in the vanguard of Labour.

MACNAMARA ON WHITLEYISM.

Dr. Macnamara, Minister for Labour, told the guileless young students at the Loughborough technical school the other day, that "in the years immediately to come the world must see the greatest reconstruction effort that history had ever known."

"To-morrow never comes" is a true saying, but, for once, the doctor told the truth. The reconstruction effort he predicted is the effort to reconstruct capitalism, which received a mortal wound, from which it will never recover, when Russia set up a Soviet Republic, an act which is influencing the working-class movement all over the world. What are you doing to spread the good news?

Macnamara went on to boast of the sixty-three Joint Industrial Councils and the successful application of the "spirit of Whitleyism."

Needless to say, he failed to mention the deadlock in the Building Workers' Industrial Council!

GERMAN GOODS.

During the great capitalist war, all its supporters told us that German goods would never again be allowed to flood British markets. But German toys are now pouring in, and the disabled soldiers, who were earning a living by toy making, cannot do so any more. Seventy per cent. of the men employed in this country in making magnetos and a large proportion of the workers are ex-soldiers.

The ex-servicemen are perhaps surprised that, now that they have beaten the Germans, British capitalists throw them out of work to buy German goods.

There is no cause for surprise, however, for under capitalism the rule, "Buy in the cheapest market, sell in the dearest," is universally applied, and, whoever disregards it follows the swift, sure road to ruin. Those who object should help us in working to change the system, and join the Communist Party.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

"I don't believe they ever were any good at all, if you asked me," remarked Henry suddenly.

"Hey?" I queried. He repeated his question. "I don't know a donkey's hind leg what you're driving at," I said, "and if you ask *me*, I don't remember asking you."

"You was talking of women," he suggested.

"Was I?" I asked doubtfully. As a rule my talk covers a wide range of subjects, in order to avoid being personal, but Henry had seized on one subject and bore it aloft triumphantly. He was determined to stick me, nail me, and thoroughly hammer-me down to it, right into a coffin.

"Oh, you wasn't, was you?" he snapped. "Well, you're not the only chap who doesn't know what he was talking about only five minutes ago. And yet you have the impudence to sneer at Lloyd George and what he said in—— When did you say it was he spoke at Limehouse?"

"You were talking about women," I remarked reprovingly.

"You was, you mean," he biffed. "What I said was that they was never no good, and to what I said, I stick."

"Chamberlain said that in '86," I said, "Poll parrot."

"Never mind what Chamberlain said or didn't. What I want to know is what you said five minutes ago."

"I thought you were doing all the saying," I passed back in a musical tone of voice.

"Trying to get out of it, of course," he sneered.

"Trying to get out of what?" I asked belligerently.

"What you said."

"I say a good many things," I remarked with the air of a professor trying to explain why two and three don't make four.

"So I notice," he sniggered. He seemed to call in his nose far too much for eloquent effect.

"I said something about women, you said, I think?"

"No, there's no need to think. It's a fact," he remarked somewhat offensively. "You said a great deal about them, too."

"It's an exhaustive subject," I suggested wisely.

"Grr-rr!"

"Your own remarks," I added, ignoring the further nasal noise, "are quite beside the point."

"Can't a man give his own opinion as well as you?"

"Ireland," I said, "is the freest country in the world, as Hamar Greenwood says, and England runs a close second, I think."

"Now look here, are we talking about women, or are we not? Why drag in Ireland and Greenwood? Don't you think it's about time women quit interfering in men's affairs?"

"What particular kind of men's affairs do you mean?" I asked.

"Why," he replied, "politics, and strikes, and revolution, and all that sort of thing, which, strictly speaking, is a man's job."

"Who was it started the French Revolution?" I queried. "Wasn't it the women of Versailles—or rather, I mean, the women of Paris who marched to Versailles and demanded bread?"

"Perhaps, but none of the revolution business for me, thanks. What you have said only shows what a quiet and peaceful life we'd lead if it wasn't for them women, always stirring up trouble, I says."

"You forget that if the trouble was stirred up," I planked at him, "who put it there to be stirred up?"

"Perhaps you're a believer in women's rights and all that sort of rot," said Henry, with more nasal business. "How'd you like to have things run by women, I ask?"

"Ask away!" I said, "you're welcome, and, as I said, England is a free country. But who said women mean to run things?"

"Poor ignoramus! Can't you use your own eyes and see how women are beginning to boss the show?"

"No, I don't," said I. "They are simply taking their place at man's side to give him a kick now and again when he fills up his pipe and buries his nose in the penny pifflers. Your idea of woman seems to be—

She never even stops to think
What she is doing here;
She scrubs potatoes at the sink
And fetches William's beer.

That's all right for an ideal—for the Henry Dubb family; but the women are beginning to kick now, and up North they wear rather hefty clogs. They are beginning to form Street Soviets and make themselves to keep the homes running and the kids looked after when the shooting and shouting begins, and the men rush about doing anything but get down to business. Except those, of course, who have lined up in the workshops and are getting ready there. Even in time of revolution the men will want their dinners, as usual, I suppose. These Street Soviets—"

"What's them?"

"Everlasting Mike!" I remarked under my breath. Then aloud: "If you don't know what a Street Soviet is, Henry, better write up to the *Dreadnought*. There's some women there who will hand across the goods—but don't forget the stamp."

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

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IS IT TO BE PEACE AND TRADE WITH RUSSIA?

What is to be the outcome of the Russian trade negotiations that have been dragging on month after month?

The Russian Government has been more than patient for so long, that Tchitcherin's note saying the matter must be settled one way or the other, or Soviet Russia would break off negotiations, was quite a surprise.

In a recent issue, the *Times* stated that the Trade Agreement will be concluded this week, and the *Herald*, after declaring that there would be no Trade Agreement, and that the Councils of Action must prepare for action, has announced that the members of the Cabinet who desire trade with Soviet Russia have triumphed over those who do not.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* has again and again been alone in the press, even in the Labour, Socialist and Communist press of this country, in stating that nothing would come of the various peace and trade negotiations with Soviet Russia, which have taken place officially and unofficially during the last three years. The *Workers' Dreadnought* each time has been right, where the other prophets have been wrong.

The conclusion of an effective trade agreement between Soviet Russia and British capitalism still seems highly improbable, especially as the American Government has declared against it.

Whatever the British Government does, it will do in the interests of International capitalism, the interests of British capitalism coming first. Two considerations only will weigh with the British Government:—

Firstly, that there is more to be gained in power and wealth by trading with Soviet Russia, than by refusing to trade.

Secondly, can the trade negotiations be used to induce Soviet Russia to agree to compromises which will undermine the strength of the Soviet Government and give a set-back to Communism?

The trade negotiations have been kept going, partly, perhaps, to discover whether those two results could be achieved by a trade agreement, also to make the Soviet Government believe that some advantage may be gained by refraining from any action that may be displeasing to the British Government, and to keep quiet British public opinion hostile to the intervention.

At the present time, trade is not too good in this country; prices are high, and the growth of unemployment might make it seem to British capitalism advisable that the vast market for British machinery and manufactured goods which Russia offers, should be taken advantage of.

Wrangel has been defeated; the Red armies are scoring successes against Petlura, Belakhovitch and all the enemies of Soviet Russia. This might be thought a fitting moment for burying the hatchet—and yet I do not think so.

Wrangel's troops are being kept together for another effort. There are rumours of another Russian-Polish war, and the Poles, even now, are far from scrupulous about adhering to the terms of the peace they have just concluded with the Soviets.

Though Lloyd George says he is strong for peace, Churchill, who again and again, has revealed the true policy of the Government, still declares that Bolshevism must be crushed.

The *Daily Herald*, in common with numbers of people who dislike facing ruthless and unpleasant facts, are constantly falling into the belief that a fierce battle is being conducted in the Cabinet between the powers of darkness, led by Winston Churchill, and the powers of light, led by Lloyd George. Thus they account for the promise to withdraw troops from Soviet Russia being broken, time and again; the continuance of the blockade; and the launching of the Polish war—to name only a part of the group of questions which concerns Soviet Russia. In regard to Egypt, there is the same story of the powers of light, reinforced by Lord Milner, fighting against Lord Curzon and the powers of darkness. During the Peace Conference, we were asked to believe in the good fight of Lloyd George and his fellow-saint, President Wilson, against the wicked Clemenceau.

Those who believe these silly stories, are like the unfortunate squirrel, who, in the effort to escape, whirls around his treadmill cage. As a matter of fact, the Lloyd Georges and Churchills distribute the political rôles amongst themselves: Churchill keeps the Tories assured that the Cabinet will certainly obey them, whilst Lloyd George tries to gull the public, and especially the proletariat, with phrases about peace and democracy.

So when Lloyd George is telling us that he is strong for peace with Soviet Russia, Churchill says bluntly:—

> "My view has been that all the harm and misery in Russia, have arisen out the wickedness and folly of the Bolshevists, and that there will be no recovery of any kind in Russia or in Eastern Europe while these wicked men, this vile group of cosmopolitan fanatics, hold the Russian nation by the hair of its head, and tyrannise over its great population. The policy I always advocated is the overthrow and destruction of that criminal *régime*.
>
> RICHARD KEIR.

WHY DEMAND?

"South Poplar Labour Party demands the withdrawal of troops from Ireland." Presumably the South Poplar Labourites are addressing their demand to the Government. What folly! They should surely know that mere demands addressed to that quarter are useless!

SEAMEN AND INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

The futility of endeavouring to secure industrial peace under capitalism is also being strikingly demonstrated just now in the shipping industry. The Genoa International "Labour" Conference, held under the Labour Section of the League of Nations last June-July, failed to adopt the principle of a 48 hour week for seafarers. In Brussels last August a congress of the International Seamen's Federation decided in favour of a world strike should this be necessary to enforce the seamen's 8-hour day. The committee of representatives of seamen and shipowners appointed by the Genoa Conference, has now decided to call a joint meeting in January of the International Seamen's Federation and the International Shipping Federation to discuss the seamen's hours. So action by the workers concerned is put off for a further two months. The seamen and other sections of workers are supposed to be grateful for the "Labour" Office machinery which the Peace Treaty has set up. This machinery is supposed to be the recompense for Labour's part in the war!

If the seamen secure the 48 hour week it will be because they are strong enough to hold up the world's shipping if their demand is refused.

If the seamen are powerful enough to hold up the world's shipping they should do so for a bigger object than this—to dethrone capitalism and establish the workers in power under Communism.

GERMANY BARRED FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

It is announced that the French and British Governments have decided to maintain the exclusion of Germany from the League of Nations. If Germany were a Socialist republic instead of being a bourgeois republic the German government would not desire to join the League of Nations. Soviet Russia does not desire to join the capitalist League of Nations, and every intelligent Socialist should know that the League is a capitalist organisation, and is fighting the growth of Socialism in all lands. Nevertheless, we find many so-called Socialists giving their support to the League of Nations propaganda, and these foolish people are now passing resolutions demanding Germany's admission to the League.

CIVIL WAR IN BUDAPEST.

There is a renewed outburst of civil war in Hungary, and this time it is not Whites against Reds, the governing classes against the workers, the "haves" against the "havenots," but one section of the privileged classes against the other. The struggle between Lukasich, the newly-appointed military commander of Budapest and the militarist-capitalist factions does not concern us except in so far as it may create a situation which will stimulate the workers' revolution. Already there seems to be signs that the clash between rival Whites may arouse the workers to another and more successful revolt.

TRY COMMUNISM.

Hilda Peattie, a reception clerk at the Midland Hotel, died after an illegal operation, and the jury returned a verdict of "wilful murder against some person or persons unknown."

Well, well, Mr. Coroner, the girl would not have done it if she had not seen unemployment and starvation in front of her. If she had lived in Soviet Russia she would have been given ample maintenance for herself and the child, and no questions asked.

George Arthur Cass, a military medalist, who fought in the retreat from Mons, being unable to find work, pawned his medal and stole to buy food for his wife and ten months old baby. He was arrested and bound over at Maidenhead. He would be happier lying under the pavement at Westminster Abbey as the "unknown warrior!"

What are you going to do about it?

FROM THE COUNTRY.

I have not read Comrade Lenin's treatise upon the "Infantile Sickness of Leftism," but articles upon it inform me that he recommends to Communists participation in Parliamentary action as being of tactical value, and that one reason for doing so is the need for organising, in support of the Revolution, the peasants, who could not otherwise be organised. Further, this recommendation is intended to apply to this country.

Let us for the moment ignore the article in two recent issues of the "Workers' Dreadnought" from a Dutch Comrade, pointing out the difference in attitude of the West and East European peasantry, and let us assume, for the purpose of argument, that Comrade Lenin's contention on this point is correct.

When speaking of a peasant, our thoughts carry us to the continent. We imagine a man and his family cultivating a few acres of land, which they either own or hire, using their own implements, and possessing a few cattle, sheep or goats which graze on the common pasture land. Sometimes they do other work in addition, such as weaving, and then again they possess the necessary tools. They are not propertyless.

Exploitation does take place. There are taxes, usury and rent and, where feudal customs still prevail, there are the exactions, in money, kind, and service, of the lord.

This exploitation is not especially capitalistic in its character, and might occur in a non-capitalistic society. Moreover, the robbery is obvious, and also its extent. The worker is not expected to display gratitude for being robbed, for being employed.

Examine the conditions in the country districts here. In the place of numerous family holdings the land is divided into large farms—1,000 acres (about a mile and a quarter square) is not uncommon, and 120 acres would be considered a small farm—on which the work is done by wage-earners.

The farm worker usually exists in a cottage tied to the farm. It may have a garden attached, but apart from this he is landless and propertyless. He is a genuine member of the proletariat and may suffer as others do, from under-employment and unemployment.

As with the industries early in the last century, because of the individual occupation of the farm, there is a personal relationship between the employer and the employed, but the limited liability company is invading the province of agriculture also.

In other countries feudal conditions exist by the side of capitalism, which, in this country, has triumphed in agriculture also. In this again England remains the "classical home of capitalism."

Some few small holdings do exist and certain reformers, against the centralising tendency of modern society, are attempting to increase their number, but this does not render invalid my argument. They are like the ancient buildings which exist beside modern structures: they are in the present but not of it.

From the foregoing it will be seen that we have not a peasantry, but a rural proletariat, and therefore, even if Comrade Lenin's argument be correct, it does not apply to us.

The machinery for the organisation of the farm workers need differ from that for the industrial workers very little more than the machinery in one industry differs from that in another. Just as we have factory committees, so we can have farm committees, representative of every branch, and these farm committees can be linked up as are the factory committees.

JOHN BALL.

IRELAND.

Policy of Communists and Labour Party.

Labour Party's Dishonest Scheme.

LABOUR PARTY PROGRAMME.

1. Withdraw all armed forces. Make local authorities responsible for keeping order.

2. Election by proportional representation of a Constituent Assembly to work out Irish Constitution, subject to two conditions :—

(a) Protection to minorities ;

(b) That Ireland shall be prevented from becoming a military or naval menace to Great Britain.

3. Many postal, fiscal, commercial, judicial and other matters, and the policing and lighting of narrow seas and protection of both islands from foreign aggression, must be arranged in common by an agreement, to come into force simultaneously with the new Constitution, and made binding by immediate ratification by the respective legislatures, every necessary detail specified and every safeguard provided.

The Labour Party recognises that in the negotiation of such an agreement, the position of Great Britain would be overwhelmingly superior to that of Ireland.

"This cannot in the nature of things be avoided.

"The Labour Party believes that the Irish may now confidently rely on the British people not making use of that superiority in bargaining power to exact in the terms of the agreement anything derogatory to the effective autonomy of Ireland."

COMMUNIST PROGRAMME.

1. Withdraw British forces. Let a proletarian Red Army maintain order.

2. The summoning of Soviets of delegates from industrial and land workers and proletarian housewives to govern Ireland without outside interference.

(a) The Labour Party inserts this to placate Ulster minority and British Protestant prejudices. The Soviets provide ample opportunities for local autonomy. Communism will disestablish and disendow the rival churches and leave it to the congregations to maintain their religious institutions, and endeavour to free the people from superstition.

(b) If Ireland is to have complete self-determination, this provision must be wiped out.

Until Britain is Communist, the real question will be how to prevent Britain remaining a military and naval menace to Ireland.

3. Ireland to have complete independence on these and all other questions. Any disputes which may subsequently arise to be submitted for adjudication by Soviet Russia.

This passage is sheer dishonest hypocrisy. The Labour Party must know that the British capitalist Government will take every possible advantage of Ireland and any other weaker nation.

For sheer blatant dishonesty, the Labour Party's latest scheme for the settlement of the Irish question, beats anything that has appeared for many a day.

Its object is to enable the British Government to make a pretence of giving independence to Ireland, and at the same time to adopt, and force the Irish to adopt, legislation in the form of an agreement which will entirely entirely destroy Ireland's independence; all sorts of questions fiscal, postal, commercial, judicial, military, naval and so on.

The Labour Party statement, which is signed by A. G. Cameron, F. W. Jowett, Arthur Henderson, J. R. Clynes, and H. Scott Lindsay, admits that Britain's superior strength will give the British Government an overwhelming advantage in dictating the provisions of this manifesto.

But the Labour Party pretends to believe that " the Irish may now confidently rely on the British people not making any use of that inevitable superiority in bargaining power."

This is a most dishonest phrase. In the first place, it is not the British people, but the British Government acting in conformity with the wishes of British landlordism and capitalism, which will dictate the provisions of any such agreement. In the second place, the Labour Party is fully aware that the Government of the " Black and Tans " and a thousand other iniquities, will drive the hardest possible bargain.

This very manifesto itself, leads off with the complaint that " *the Parliamentary Labour Party finds itself powerless, in face of a mechanical Government majority to effect any improvement.*"

Asquith Goes Further Than the Labour Party.

This Labour Party scheme for pseudo-self-determination, with its " Agreement," to take that self-determination away on all important questions, is worse to Ireland than the recent pronouncement of Asquith, who bluntly says in effect: we will retain the Army and the Navy, but we will give you control of customs, police and everything else. Of course, everyone is aware that Asquith's promises do not necssarily mean legislation fulfilling them when he has the power, but the Labour politicians themselves have a poor record where promise keeping is concerned.

The Labour Party scheme follows closely all the worst traditions of capitalist diplomacy.

It seems to have been conceived by the intriguing diplomacy of Henderson, reinforced by the sightless industry of a Webb.

No trace of proletarian feeling and solidarity is to be found in this amazing document. It does not even attempt to apply the stock Trade Union palliatives in the workers' interests.

It requires safeguards for the naval and military defence of Britain, for Customs police, post, and so on; it demands protection for minorities, protection for the Ulster Protestants and the Protestant landowners in Catholic Ireland. It says nothing of Labour conditions, which are such a crying scandal in Ireland. It does not suggest that Irish rates of wages shall be levelled up to the British standard, that Irish migratory labourers shall not be allowed to undercut English farm workers, that Irish men and women shall not be brought over to break English trade disputes, or that British workers or British soldiers and sailors shall not be used. It says nothing about safeguarding freedom of working-class organisation, freedom of speech and press. Side issues though these may be, it would be more becoming to the Labour Party to bring them forward, than to import the catch ones of the capitalist parties into its manifesto.

P. O'BRIEN.

A LAND FIT FOR HEROES.

By T. Young.

1914.—" Your King and country need you!"

1920.—The same old capitalists, of the same old country, bleed you!

Jack Jones was a good type of the Welsh collier (so much blackguarded to-day), and an ex-service man, and hearing he was " enjoying " a rest at his own expense, as the result of that scourge of the trenches, malarial fever, we called to see how he was getting on. We found him just starting an animated debate with the doctor, on " The Ex-Service Men and a Grateful Country."

The doctor was also an ex-service man, and quite naturally, was interested in this question. I hope the reader will be as interested as the writer was.

" Well, Jack, I hear you have joined the N.U.X," said the doctor. " Now don't you think that is going a bit too far; these men are extremists, you know, and nothing less than the earth will satisfy them."

" Now, doctor, not too fast, or you may find yourself up against a " Big Bertha," that will stop your breath. First of all, yes, I have joined the N.U.X; secondly, I don't think it is going too far; I am well aware that they are extremists, and I am proud to think that nothing short of " the earth " for the workers and soldiers, will satisfy them. Good God, look at this pig-stye which I am compelled to live in, with a roof like a sieve, the doors and winodws in such a condition that you cannot tell whether they are open or shut. Extremists, you said, doctor, well, if this isn't enough to make a man an extremist, I will give you a bit more information, and I believe you will then agree that conditions have reached a stage in the country to-day, when nothing but extreme measures offer any hope of a remedy."

" But Jack, why join the N.U.X.? Could not the D.S.&S. have done the same thing for you? Why, only the other day, these fellows were openly declaring themselves to be rebels against the King's Government; we must draw the line somewhere you know."

" No line at all, doctor. We must be as unscrupulous with the Government as the Government has been with us. No measure can be too extreme, when dealing with these political tricksters, and we are going all the way: for that reason, I say the D.S. & S. could not fill the bill, they are too easily satisfied. But say, doctor, what about your own experience. Did you find Lloyd George and all the grateful capitalists of the country, ready to offer up the fatted calf, find you one of the soft jobs where other guys do the work and you draw the pay?" Did they give you sufficient pension to take a little holiday with the missus and kids in some quiet spot to give you a chance to recover from the nerve-racking horrors of the hell we went through?"

" Well, no, Jack; that certainly has not been my experience. You know when I joined up, had good prospects of a practice of my own, but neither the Government nor the "Comrades" gave me any assistance whatsoever. I had to start my life all over again, with the additional burden of an impaired constitution, and if it had not been for the extremists in your S.W.M.F. Lodge engaging me as their medical officer, I should probably still be a struggling assistant, without a practice of my own."

" Well, there you are, Doc. who do you say have been your best friends?"

" Well Jack, I must admit that extremists have done more for me than the Government or the " Comrades," with all their promises."

" That is just my experience, too, Doc. I joined the D.S. & S., thinking they were going to do something for us, because most of us had a lingering suspicion that things were not going to be as they had promised before we joined up. Well, I soon found out the best thing the D.S. & S. could do was talk and get M.P.s and Councillors to expend some hot air in the various gas works of the Government, which, like old Jerry's " whizz-bangs," generally ended in smoke, and so we find in this country fit for heroes, hundreds of thousands of ex-service men out of employment, and their families starving. Look at the case of Mrs. Hattersley of Cardiff, a woman who gave four sons to fight for freedom; all four of her boys were killed or maimed in the war, for which she received the magnificent pension of 5/- per week, the total value of her four sons being less than a loaf of bread per day, and even this was stopped in June last."

" Now Doc., this is not good enough, and it appears to me that the employers and the Government have got the measure of the D.S. & S. to a dot; there is no fear of them doing much damage to the Government. Give them sufficient money to open a drinking club, where working-class education is not permitted, and the energies of the D.S. & S. falls to zero in that area. But get into the N.U.X. and there you find the boys with the real fighting spirit. The N.U.X. have lost all faith in " *parlez-vous-ing* " and are relying on the united power of the workers to overthrow the dictatorship of capitalists and are going to set up Council of Workers and Soldiers. Their end is freedom from capitalist exploitation, the right of every man, woman and child, to a share of the work, the food and the pleasures of life; their aim is to make this land a place for men to dwell in; where the thieves and blood-suckers of this generation shall find no place to dwell. The N.U.X. will use any means to gain this end and are prepared, if need be, to face a bigger hell than the one they have already passed through. If that comes off, Doc., we shall need some surgeons, so join the N.U.X. and do your part in the fight for freedom under the People's Flag.

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THEIR DOINGS.

By HENRIETTE ROLAND-HOLST.

(*Continued from last week*).

This explains the repeated appeals to the masses by Lenin, Trotski, and the other leaders, appeals for self-discipline and self-mastery. It explains, too, the insistence, an insistence which at first surprises and induces an unpleasing impression, with which Lenin, in his address to the Supreme Economic Council, refers to the absolute necessity of an iron discipline in the factories, upon the railways, to the need for unquestioning obedience on the part of the workers to the leaders of their own choice.**

In addition to the difficulties enumerated by Trotski, there are others which considerably hamper the realisation of Socialism in Russia. They are consequences of the situation imposed on the Soviet Republic by the policy of the International Imperialists. By the peace of Brest-Litovsk, Central Russia has been cut off from the fertile southern provinces whence the large towns normally drew their bread supply.

Furthermore, the peace has deprived Russia of its sources of naptha and petroleum, although these products were indispensible to the maintenance of communications and to the replenishing of the factories with raw materials.

Immediately after this "disastrous peace," began the intrigue of the Allied powers. Linking up with the counter-revolutionary elements, the Allies fostered within the confines of Russia the revolt of the Czecho-Slovak prisoners of war against the Soviet Government, thus cutting off Central Russia and the Volga basin from the Donetz basin and from Siberia, from the regions, that is to say, which were no less important than Ukraine to the food supply of Central Russia, being the sources of fish, butter, meat, and bread.*

In his letter to the French Government, published by the *Nouvelle Internationale*, René Marchand, Russian correspondent of the *Figaro*, shows irrefutably that the official representatives of France had endeavoured to destroy bridges on some of the most important railway lines in Russia, their aim being to throw the food supply of Petrograd and Moscow completely out of gear, thus inducing famine and the disorders this would entail.†

It need hardly be said that the United States would give no help to the Soviet Republic in the form of credit, loans, machinery, the sending of technical experts, etc. But the Russians had counted on such help, and had endeavoured to secure it by making all kinds of concessions to American capital.

What I have written may suffice to give the reader an inkling of the tremendous difficulties which stood, and still stand, in the way of the Socialist Reconstruction of Russia. Should the Bolshevist experiment fail, we could with an easy conscience assign the failure to the causes above enumerated. This failure would not justify any arguments against socialisation or against those who have attempted to bring it about. In actual fact, however, the experiment has by no means failed. On the contrary, despite the extremely unfavourable conditions, the creative power of the masses and the practicabilityof Socialist Institutions have been demonstrated. The experiment has proved, not merely that it is possible for the working and peasant masses to assume Governmental powers, but further that these same masses can use Governmental powers to good effect, can use them to put an end to the exploitation of one human being by another and to lay the foundations of Communist Society.

The assertion that the experiment has not failed is justified by a whole series of facts. First of all, we may point to the continued existence of the Soviet Government, November, 1917. Its vigorous survival, notwithstanding the disastrous peace of Brest-Litovsk, notwithstanding a terrible famine in the towns, notwithstanding the growing menace of a world-wide capitalist coalition against the Soviet Republic, suffices to show that the Soviet Government, although its measures have often been harsh and arbitrary, enjoys the confidence and affection of the masses. It proves, too, that the Government has been able, in many respects, to better the conditions of the people; and to awaken in them the hope of complete freedom; to incline them, with this end in view, to accept all conceivable hardships, to work diligently, and to live as frugally as possible. The existence of the Soviet Government for a year and a half, proves that it is succeeding in promoting the regeneration of the masses of the Russian people.

Additional proof is afforded by the increasing power and by the military successes of the Red Army. The Russian masses are glad to fight for the Soviet Republic. For its sake they leave their friends and their work, submit to military discipline, pour out their blood freely. When we remember the utter exhaustion resulting from the Imperialist war. when we recall the condition of the masses in 1916, and their total disorganisation at the outset of the Revolution, the facts cited seem to us to afford convincing proof that the Russian people is filled with a spirit of active devotion to the Soviet Government.

In the third place, great importance must be attached to the change of outlook among the lower middle-class Socialist parties (the Mensheviks and the Right Social Revolutionaries), and among the bourgeois intellectuals. The Mensheviks and their associates are no longer in opposition; they have agreed to form a coalition with the Government, for the defence of the Soviet Republic. The intellectuals have submitted to the inevitable, and have abandoned their policy of passive resistance. They have put themselves at the disposal of the new order, and to an increasing extent, they are coming to form part of the political organisation of the Soviet Government. Thus, by degrees, there are being grouped around the Government, all the living forces of the Russian people, ready to defend Russia against the onslaughts of International capitalism—including German capitalism.*

In addition to these indirect proofs of the success of the Socialist experiment, direct proof is forthcoming. We have, for instance, the Governmental wireless messages. We have articles in the Bolshevik journals, and in the Swiss monthly review, *Demain*. We have, finally, the news items contained in the official *Russische Nachrichten*. This was published for a time at Berne, and its columns contained a careful synopsis of all the news published by the Russian journals concerning the social transformation.** Some of the readers of *De Nieuwe Tijd*, are of opinion that the information contained in the *Russische Nachrichten* is valueless, because it was derived from the official organs of the Soviet Government. I must point out, however, that the same objection may be made to official news in every country, to all official statistics, and the like. Merely becuse news is official, we are not entitled to regard it as devoid of evidential value, and to leave it out of account. In most cases, doubtless, it is far from easy to ascertain to what degree Governmental decisions are carried into effect, and to what degree they are mere writings upon paper. In this respect, the enormous transformations undertaken by the Soviet Government are on all fours with the petty reforms of the bourgeois Governments, the reforms which these latter propose to carry out within the framework of capitalist society. We would ask those who shrug their shoulders, those who speak contemptuously of the paper measures of the Bolsheviks, whether they can point to any country in the world where such simple labour legislation as that enacting the reduction of the working day by an hour or half an hour, is immediately and effectively realised. The history of labour legislation in France and in Holland tells another tale. We know that years have often elapsed before measures of this character, even measures which have no more than the most superficial effect on the capitalist system, can be put into general application. Who has a right to be exacting in the case of changes involving a colossal transformation, a radical modification of political, economic, social, and intellectual life. Those only, who take an utterly superficial view, or those only, whose minds are poisoned with hatred, can belittle the first steps of the Soviet Government, simply because its decrees are not instantly enforced to the full.

Moreover, it seems probable that many of the reforms undertaken by the Soviet Government of Russia, are being realised far more rapidly than the capitalist states of other parts of the world, minor reforms, aiming at the protection of labour, have ever been realised. In a revolutionary epoch, the masses are eager to apply the new decisions. Besides, in many cases, these decisions are but the general realisation and the sanction of what has been achieved by the direct revolutionary action of the masses. That is why we feel confident that the endeavours to transform the political, economic, and intellectual life of Russia—precisely because the proposed changes are so wide and so deep—will promptly change the entire social organism from base to summit. I speak in general terms. There will doubtless be many departments in which, owing to the impotence of some of the executive organs, owing to lack of understanding, owing to want of knowledge and experience, or owing to the fact that the Socialist consciousness of the masses is still insufficiently alert, the new measures will, more or less and for a time, remain dead letters. An additional factor contributing to slow down revolutionary process, is the low standard of life of the masses, the inadequacy of their demands.

The principal changes which the Revolution has effected in the life of the masses, are political rather than economic. In other words, they belong to the moral rather than to the material sphere. I mean that the passivity of the masses, of those who hitherto have been the passive objects of force and exploitation, has now been overcome. The Revolution, marshalling them for the struggle on behalf of a new social order, has for the first time made of them individualities endowed with will and ready for action. Maxim Gorki, greatest of living Russian writers, noted this change and its happy significance at the very time when he was sternly criticising the Soviet Government. As a result of this change, the backwardness of the Russian people, their political inferiority, and their intellectual immaturity, when compared with the peoples of other lands, are disappearing day by day. The Russians are rapidly overhauling those who had the start of them in civilisation. Thanks to their lively interest in political and economic questions, thanks to their vigorous civic sentiments and their devotion to the common cause, the Russians are actually outstripping their European neighbours. Their political experience, their interest in economic and social questions, their appreciation of intellectual culture, are developing by leaps and bounds. In a word, the level of general culture is rising rapidly and irresistibly in Russia; for what we call culture is in truth nothing other than a keen interest in social problems and social tasks.

** Naturally these adjurations have nothing in common with the appeals of the German patriotic Socialists on behalf of the maintenance of order, or with the advice, which these Socialists lavish on the workers, against strikes, lest industry should be endangered. The Russian masses have been freed from the tyranny of capital; the German masses have still to achieve their deliverance; the difference is vital.

* Who can fail to be indignant at the cynical remark of a member of the medical staff of the French hospital in Petrograd, who dared to criticise the "Bolshevik regime of famine," although his own compatriots weren among those responsible for the state of affairs. His remarks were published without comment by the Dutch newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*.

† *Cf.*, Allied agents in Soviet Russia, by René Marchand, published by the People's Russian Information Bureau; and "Why I Support the Bolsheviks," by René Marchand, published by the British Socialist Party.

* In an Allied manifesto recently published at Odessa, the following expressions are used: "The Germans did not come here as conquerors. They came in defence of the right. Their aims were the same as ours."

** In connection with the attack of the Swiss Government upon the Russians in Switzerland, in connection with the expulsion of the Soviet Embassy and the ensuing Governmental terror, occurred the suppression of this bulletin, the *Russische Nachrichten*.

COMMUNIST UNITY.

Dear Comrade,—At its meeting in Moscow, on August 10th, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International made the following decision respecting the amalgamation of the existing Communist groups in Britain in a united Communist Party :—

"The E.C. resolves : In Britain a single Communist Party must be organised on the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International.

"To achieve this, in the space of four months a general Congress of the Communist groups and organisations of all Britain and Ireland must be summoned. In this Congress there must participate : (1) The United Communist Party ; (2) the Communist Party ; (3) the Shop Stewards ; (4) the Scottish Communist groups ; (5) the Welsh groups ; (6) the Irish Communists (on a federal basis) ; (7) the Socialist Labour Party ; (8) the Left Wing I.L.P.

"For the summoning of this general Congress, and to pave the way for unity, a general Committee of Action is appointed, into which there enters one representative of each group, under the presidency of a representative of the E.C."

As a supplement to this resolution, the C.E.C. decided, on August 20th, as follows :—

"The E.C. recommends to the British comrades the following basis of representation for the Unity Congress : parties and political groups must be represented in proportion to their membership, with a minimum of three delegates per organisation.

"As for the Shop Stewards, the E.C. recommends that the Committee of Action gives them representation on the basis of their organised membership, in connection with which it is desirable that there should appear as delegates not merely the leaders already belonging to political parties, but also true exponents of the views and wishes of the widest possible masses."

Arising out of this matter, and resulting from an informal meeting held in London, the enclosed letter has been issued to the various organisations mentioned. I shall be glad if you can give publicity to this letter in the next issue of your paper.

Yours fraternally,
ALBERT INKPIN
(Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain).

Dear Comrade,—As you are doubtless aware, the Central Executive of the Third International recently decided that a further unity conference must be held in this country of all organisations that accept the statutes, theses and conditions of affiliation to the Third International, for the purpose of combining them in one united Communist Party. This decision was an instruction to the bodies concerned to appoint representatives to a joint committee which, under the guidance of a chairman directly appointed by the Moscow Executive, would be charged with making the arrangements for the congress, compiling the agenda and determining the basis of representation according to the membership of the various bodies concerned.

For reasons which are known, the chairman appointed by the Moscow Executive is unable to enter this country, and consequently no steps have so far been taken to carry the foregoing decision into effect. The undersigned members of the organisations mentioned—acting, as they believe, in conformity with the wishes of the Moscow Executive in these new circumstances—have therefore decided to approach the Executives of the various organisations concerned, and to suggest the immediate formation of a joint committee, which shall carry out the instruction of the Moscow Executive and arrange the unity convention at an early date.

Your Executive Committee is therefore invited and urged to send two representatives to attend a meeting for this purpose, which it is suggested should be held at Manchester on Saturday, December 11th. This invitation is being issued to the following organisations : Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Labour Party, Communist Party, Socialist Labour Party, National Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee, and Scottish Workers' Committee.

We shall be glad if you will bring this letter under the immediate consideration of your Executive and let us know their decision with the least possible delay.

Yours fraternally,
ALBERT INKPIN, Communist Party of Great Britain.
JACK V. LECKIE, Communist Labour Party.
GEORGE PEET, National Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees.
E. T. WHITEHEAD, Communist Party (British Section of the Third International).

400 PER CENT. RENT INCREASE.

An ex-serviceman applied at Marylebone Police Court the other day for a summons against his landlord. The whole house was let at £90 a year in 1914, but now it is let off in floors at £120, £104, £85, £85, £65 and £45, a total of £504 a year, or an increase of 400 per cent.

The ex-soldier was highly indignant ; of course he was. He was a tenant, and so would you be if you were in his place !

But what if you were the landlord ? Would you not do it, too ? Would you not say : "Everyone is doing it, and why not I ? "

Perhaps some of our readers would not, but some of them would. They would find extenuating circumstances in their own particular cases, no doubt.

As for the landlord, he doubbtless says that he is compelled to raise the rent because the excess profit tax is still in force, and the prices of beer and whiskey and wine and bread and meat and clothing and railway fares have gone up.

The landlord's excuses for raising the rent do not seem good enough for the tenant. The butcher's excuses for raising the price of meat do not seem good enough to the landlord, but each raises the prices against the other.

The workers are no better and no worse than the landlord and the butcher, but, being the bottom dog, their opportunities are not so great.

The game of "beggar my neighbour" will go on so long as capitalism remains ; it is essential to the system.

Meanwhile Tom Browne, the ex-serviceman, tramps the streets in vain looking for work, and his children starve ; Jenkins, the skilled worker, lives in one room with his wife and family, and pays a premium and an exorbitant rent for it, because it is not profitable to the capitalist to build more houses for the workers ; Lady Diana buys a £1,000 wrap in Bond Street, and wears it on half a dozen occasions before casting it aside ; and Lady Troubridge seeks relaxation in spiritualism, whilst the Admiral fumes, and Miss Marguerite Radclyffe-Hall, of Chip Chase, gets damages of £500 from Mr. St. George Lane Fox Pitt for calling her a "grossly immoral woman," and trying to keep her off the Council of that learned society for Psychical Research, to which Mr. Gerald Balfour, Privy Councillor, also belongs.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Leicester S.L.P.	1	0	0
H. M. Emery	0	5	0
W. Lawrence	0	2	0
G. Lawrence	0	1	0
Willesden Freedom Group	0	2	0
Wm. Harris	0	2	6
F. Tyler	0	5	0
Willesden Council of Action	1	0	0
T. Downing	0	10	0
D. Scourfield	1	0	0
W. Partridge	0	2	6
Birmingham Comrade	0	18	0
F. Winch	0	11	6
Per T. Michaels	1	0	0
Per T. Wilquet	0	15	4
	8	4	10
Brought forward	51	7	5
	£59	12	3

WOMAN—THE HOPE OF THE BOURGEOIS CLASS.

Judging from the heavy solemnity of the meeting organised by the National Political League, and held on Tuesday in last week at the New Theatre (fitting place for the theatricalities of some of the speakers), the middle classes of this country are quaking in their costly shoes. The reason for this appears to be the awful thought that the very much overdue revolution is at hand.

Almost afraid to mention the word "revolution," the fear of the abolition of the useless class to which they belong inspired the speakers. In tones nearly choked with emotion, Miss Farquharson informed her audience that the great menace to this country was the Council of Action, and that nothing more need be said, since a Russian Bolshevik had described that body as "the first English Soviet" which would one day sweep the bourgeois class out of existence.

Fear obviously instructed the hysterical mis-statements of Mrs. Webster, who informed her horrified hearers that little children would be torn away from their mothers, and that the nationalisation of women would be the law under Bolshevist rule.

Fear was also responsible for Lord Askwith's tirade against the Syndicalist, beside whom the Marxist was, to him, an angel of light.

The last speaker was J. A. Seddon, M.P., that one-time commercial traveller who seems to have brought his wares to the right market at last. We hope his working-class supporters will be pleased to see their representative assisting an organisation which a few short weeks ago attempted to create, by misrepresentation, a force of public opinion with which to defeat the miners in their efforts to obtain a small measure of justice.

The meeting was intended to be a warning to and a rally of middle-class women, to fight the monster Bolshevism in our midst. We hope the weather will keep fine for them, for the feet of the bourgeoisie are cold unto freezing point.

B. W.

	Each.	Doz.
Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, by Lenin ...	2d.	1/6
Soviets for the British, by L. A. Motler	1½d.	1/1
Soviets or Parliament, by Bukharin ...	1d.	9d.
Hands Off Russia, by Israel Zangwill ...	2d.	1/6
A Year in Soviet Russia	2d.	1/6

TRADE UNIONS' WEEKLY NOTES.

[Under this heading the *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish extracts of economic interest from the weekly circulars of various Unions, and members are invited to discuss in their respective Branches the criticism that eventually will be offered from a Communist point of view.]

National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks.

The number of new members during the week ending November 6th were : Men, 372 ; women, 315 ; total, 687.

On Account of the enormous growth of the Union in the London area, involving a great increase in the number of full-time officials, it has been necessary to acquire special premises. The new premises are situated in Tottenham Court Road, only three minutes' walk from the Central premises in Malet Street, and the permanent officials for the London area will be housed there after November 15th.

We note that the Government has decided to extend the out-of-work donation for several months to ex-servicemen. These form only a very small proportion of those who are in distress through unemployment, and a resolution has been sent strongly urging the granting of a donation benefit for a reasonable period to all workers who are unfortunate enough to be unemployed from November 8th to December 6th, and so are unable to secure benefit through the Unemployment Insurance Act. The reason for this resolution was that the Committee were informed that workers who are unemployed on the date of the operation of the Act will not be able to secure the unemployment benefit until such time as they again re-enter employment and have paid at least four weekly contributions.

United Patternmakers' Association.

The only outstanding paragraph in the monthly trade report of the United Patternmakers' Association for the past month is contained in a letter from a member who resides in Newcastle-on-Tyne. He says : ". . . . . In closing, I would like to associate myself in the protest of the Portsmouth branch against our general secretary using our monthly report for his political propaganda. I suggest that if he cannot find anything else to give us he should devote the whole of his time to the *Daily Herald*, or take the place of Sylvia Pankhurst on the *Workers' Dreadnought*."

THE MARCH OF THE WORKERS.

What is this, the sound and rumour? What is this that all men hear?
Like the wind in hollow valleys, when the storm is drawing near,
Like the rolling on ocean, in the eventide of fear?
'Tis the people marching on.

Whither go they, and whence come they? What are these of whom ye tell?
In what country are they dwelling, 'twixt the gates of heaven and hell?
Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve a master well?
Still the rumour's marching on.

Chorus :
Hark! the rolling of the thunder!
Lo! the sun and lo! thereunder
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.

Forth they come from grief and torment; on they wend toward health and mirth;
All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth.
Buy them, sell them, for thy service! Try the bargain what 'tis worth,
For the days are marching on.

These are they who build thy houses, weave they raiment, win thy wheat;
Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet,
All for thee this day—and ever. What reward for them is meet
Till the host comes marching on?

Many a hundred years passed over have they laboured, deaf and blind;
Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.
Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry comes down the wind,
And their feet are marching on.

O. ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with words the sound is rife:
"Once for you and death we aboured, changed henceforward is the strife.
We are men, and we shall battle for the world of men and life,
And our host is marching on."

"Is it war, then? Will ye perish as the dry wood in the fire?
Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hope be our desire.
Come and live! for life awaketh, and the world shall never tire;
And the hope is marching on."

"On we march, then, we, workers, and the rumour that ye hear,
Is the blended sound of battle and deliv'rance drawing near;
For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear,
And the world is marching on."

"FREEDOM" GROUP OF ANARCHISTS.

Chandos Hall, 21a, Maiden ∴ Lane, Strand, W.C. ∴

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, at 8 p.m.

Wm. C. OWEN

will speak on

"Bolshevism—What is it? Do we Want it?"

Ample time will be allowed for Questions and Discussion.

Doors open at 7.30.

Admission Free. Silver Collection.

CARDIFF CONFERENCE.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4th, 1920.

ALL BRANCHES and other ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS desirous of being represented are requested to place all matter for the Agenda in the hands of the National Secretary on or before the 20th November.

Each Branch and Group participating is entitled to have one delegate, who should present a Credential signed by his Branch Secretary stating card vote of Branch or Group.

All rail fares pooled, so cost to each Branch and Group is the same.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD,
National Secretary,
8, Sinclair Gardens,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14.

COMMUNIST PARTY, B.S.T.I.

Comrade Fred Tyler

Just returned from 10 weeks' tour through England and Scotland, is willing to speak at any

Communist or Socialist Branch

on

"The General Situation of the Movement and Party."

No fees. Collection in aid of

"Workers' Dreadnought" Fund.

Apply Fred Tyler, 33, Denbigh Rd., Willesden, N.W. 10.

TO LINK UP

UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT

Will Committees and Others desirous of forming same, communicate with

H. W. Emery, 153, Melbourne Rd. Coventry.
Sec. Coventry Unemployed Workers' Committee.

FURNISHED BEDROOM and SITTING ROOM (piano), ground floor, suitable for two; with or without attendance.—32, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham. Good train, tram, and 'bus service.

MALTHUSIANISM

BIRTH-CONTROL METHODS

by

PROFESSOR G. HARDY.

Translated from the 45th French Edition.
39 Illustrations.

Price 3s. 6d. post free.

"Professor Hardy spares no pains in pointing out why parental prudence would be productive of so much good in ameliorating the conditions under which the poor live. His arguments are concise, clear and conclusive. He then shows the latest and most hygienic methods known to science which can be practised by even the poorest couples. In fact, the work is a perfect encyclopædia on Neo-Malthusianism and should be found in every household and read by all married people and those about to marry." THE TRUTHSEEKER.

The book is only supplied to persons over 21 years of age. State age when ordering from

J. W. GOTT, Secretary Liberator League, 61, Dorset Street, Bradford.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence. Entry Fee: One Shilling.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

BRANCH NOTES.

Hammersmith.

Comrade Blake, the first secretary of the Hammersmith Branch, handed in his resignation on Monday last, due to his removal from the district.

Comrade Minnie Birch was then elected secretary of the Hammersmith Branch, and at the same time the meeting night was changed from Monday to Friday.

Manchester.

We had a very good canvass on Sunday morning, and also distributed handbills at the Transport Workers' Meeting at Ardwick Green Empire, where there congregated many hundreds of workers. Manchester and Gorton joint committee have been responsible for the formation of an unemployed committee in Manchester. A mass meeting was held at the Paragon Picture Palace, Redfern, and Russell put the workers' position splendidly from the platform, there being no opposition. A committee was at once formed. Comrade Tyler, please note! — Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.

Communist Saturday for November

is fixed for Saturday, Nov. 27th.

Branches and Groups are asked to make their

SPECIAL NOVEMBER EFFORT for Headquarters on that date.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Gorton Branch £5 5s, Hull Comrades £1, Miss E. Stevenson 4s, Perth Comrades 13s, Barking Comrades 12s.

LAND COLONISATION AND INDUSTRIAL GUILD.

Dear Editor,—In connection with the Continental work of the Land Colonisation and Industrial Guild, an international conference will be held at Christmas on the Guild's settlement in the Maritime Alps, five miles from Nice when delegates from land colonies and societies having kindred aims will gather for a six days' conference on December 23rd. The main object of the conference will be to decide upon methods for establishing a central settlement in every European country, and co-ordinating these for inter-trading and inter-visitation, as outlined in the Guild's pamphlet, "A League of Nations through Settlements on the Land," a copy of which may be had on application to the Secretary, The Archway House, Norwich. The English delegation will leave London on December 17th, and will stay in Paris two days, where a meeting will be held.—Yours, etc.,

E. BURTON REEVES, Hon. Sec.

ASQUITH ON IRELAND.

Mr. Asquith, at the National Liberal Club, has made a speech about Ireland. He has told us that "killing is murder," that there is "civil war in Ireland," that "justice has been put in the background and vengeance enthroned in its place," and asks "what possible faith or trust" could be placed in the statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He said "that things were being done in Ireland by the authority and with the incitement of the Executive which would take fitting place in the blackest annals of the lowest despotisms of the European world."

Having delivered this indictment, Asquith asked "What are we English people going to do about it?"

It evidently does not occur to him to tell English people not to do it.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Can be obtained from the following newsagents:—

Mrs. BECKETT, 19, Perryn Road, Acton, W.
Mr. T. E. WHITROD, 27, Church Road, Hammersmith, W.
Mr. MILLS, 57, Stafford Road, Acton.
Mrs. CLARK, 82, Brompton Road.

DANCING! DANCING! DANCING!

AT

400, OLD FORD ROAD,

EVERY THURSDAY,

From 7.30 till 10.30 o'clock.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.
Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.
Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.
Saturdays, at Hanover Park, Rye Lane, at 7.30. Comrade Cornwallis.
Sundays, Peckham Rye, at 11 a.m.

Soho.
The Broadway, Golden Square. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

Hammersmith.
The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Willesden.
Manor Park Road, Fridays.

Bow.
St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m.

Birmingham.
Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

Barking.
Near Barking Station. Sundays, at 6.30 p.m. Communist speakers.

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

Soho International.
58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

Bow.
400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

Poplar.
20, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Camberwell.
16, Peckham Road, Mondays, at 7.45 p.m.

Hull.
Argyle House, Anlaby Road. Every Wednesday night at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.
Branch meetings held Fridays, at 8 p.m., at 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush, W.

Barking.
Thursdays, at 8 p.m. At "Glenhurst," Ripple Road, Barking, E.

Stepney.
Branch meetings held Thursdays, at 8 p.m., at the I.S.C., 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1.

HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.

Sundays, at 11.30 a.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Rd., Paddington.

Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrould's Corner, Edgware Road.

Thursdays, at 7.30 p.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Road.

Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

RUSSIAN CLASS (in Olive Beamish's Office), 93, Bishopsgate, on Fridays, 7—8 p.m. For terms apply Mrs. ROUVIER, 32, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham.

GETTING INTO DEBT.

Charlotte Clarke, a sailor's wife, had £8 a month from her husband to keep the home going. Knowing less than his wife does of household expenses, he was surprised on coming home to find that she was in debt for £6 10s., and had been selling the furniture. The wife, in distress, turned on the gas, intending to do away with herself and her two little girls. Neighbours turned off the gas, and Mrs. Clarke was charged at the Central Criminal Court with attempted suicide, and attempting to administer coal gas to the children. Justice Darling bound Mrs. Clarke to come up for judgment if called upon, as her husband was willing to foregive her.

But will Mrs. Clarke and her husband forgive our Capitalist Government, which is the cause of of the trouble?

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